

## CUBA

(Mr. CRAMER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

**Mr. CRAMER.** Mr. Speaker, I read in the press that supersecret negotiations are going on in Havana, Cuba, to my amazement and shock between a Mr. Donovan, who happens to be a candidate for the U.S. Senate, and Fidel Castro for the release of Cuban prisoners to result in turning \$60 million to Castro largely in foodstuffs—thus permitting Castro to overcome his food mistakes and the New Frontier to try to apologize for its Bay of Pigs mistakes.

I have sent a wire to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Comptroller General of the United States, asking the following questions:

1. What authority exists for anyone to negotiate for payment in U.S. Government owned foodstuffs to Castro and the Communists?
2. How much in U.S.-owned foodstuffs and other things of value are being made available for this purpose?
3. What right does Donovan or any other private citizen have to negotiate with Castro and an enemy government?
4. If Donovan is negotiating on behalf of private citizens only, what right does he have under the Logan Act to do so, let alone a violation of recent policy statement of the Congress? Does not his visit to Cuba require Government approval?
5. If Donovan is negotiating in a manner that obligates the U.S. Government to make up the difference between contributions and the \$60 million demanded, is he doing so as an agent of the U.S. Government?
6. Why has not a full disclosure of all the facts been made before the deal is closed between Castro and Donovan?

I add this following question:

According to the Department of State's reply to me by Frederick G. Dutton, Assistant Secretary, March 10, 1962, when I asked for the recognition of a free non-Communist government-in-exile be made, he said:

There are, as you know, a number of U.S. citizens who still reside in Cuba. The Swiss are trying to assist them, including some who are in prison.

Why are not actions being taken to get American citizens out of prison in Cuba?

I include the entire letter of March 10 as a masterpiece of doubletalk, wishy-washy "accommodation" policies on Cuba following my wire yesterday to the President, Secretary of State, and the Comptroller General, protesting this effort to strengthen Castro and Cuba:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, D.C., March 10, 1962.

Hon. WILLIAM C. CRAMER,  
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CRAMER: The Department has been requested to reply to your telegram of February 3, 1962 to the President in which you expressed your concern over the plight of the Tampa cigar industry resulting from the embargo on trade with Cuba and in which you urged that additional steps be

undertaken designed to effect the downfall of the Castro regime.

You may be assured that in recommending that an embargo be imposed upon trade with Cuba, the Department carefully considered the impact this measure might have upon the domestic tobacco industry. In the light of the decisions taken at the recent meeting of Foreign Ministers at Punta del Este with respect to the Communist Castro threat to the hemisphere and considering that the Communist Cuban Government was continuing to earn dollars through sales of its products in the United States, it was determined that such an embargo would be both timely and in the overall national interest. The Department is confident that the patriotic citizens of the Tampa area comprehend the desirability of depriving the Communist regime of Cuba of badly needed dollar income.

The Department appreciates receiving suggestions which may advance our policy with respect to Cuba. Your recommendations have been particularly welcome and the courses of action you advocate have received and will continue to receive most careful consideration based upon our national interests, including our international obligations and commitments.

The Department is pleased to take this opportunity to comment on the various proposals you have made.

#### RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT OF A CUBAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

The recognition of a Government of Cuba in exile at this time is not in the national interest of the United States because neither the Government of Switzerland nor any other government could then represent U.S. interests before the Castro regime. Were a government-in-exile formed, and should the United States recognize such a government, the United States would have to look to that government and not the Castro government for the fulfillment of Cuban obligations. In addition, there are, as you know, a number of U.S. citizens who still reside in Cuba. The Swiss are trying to assist them, including some who are in prison and who can only be reached through the efforts of the Swiss Embassy in Havana.

#### PREVENTION OF THE SHIPMENT OF WAR MATERIAL BY THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC TO CUBA

Underlying an announcement, such as you suggest, that the United States will not permit the shipment of war material to Cuba by the Sino-Soviet bloc is, of course, the intention to insure that the terms of the announcement are fulfilled. Effective prevention of these shipments may entail interference with shipping on the high seas, expose the United States and its allies to reciprocal treatment, and thus exacerbate the already tense international situation. You may be assured, however, that close attention is being paid to the military buildup in Cuba, with special reference to the growing Cuban potential for intervention and subversion in Latin America.

#### PAYROLL AT GUANTANAMO BASE

The Department of the Navy has informed the Department of State that the Cuban nationals employed at the base are for the most part skilled workers who have given long and faithful service to the United States. Most of them have U.S. civil service status and represent families who have worked for the naval base for several generations. Like other employees of the base, they are paid in U.S. currency.

When consideration was given to paying these employees in Cuban pesos in order to avoid supplying the Communist Cuban Government with foreign exchange, it was determined that this plan would not benefit the United States. The peso introduced by

rejected by free world traders as a medium of international exchange, and Cuban pesos are unobtainable outside Cuba. Therefore, in order to obtain pesos to pay the Cuban employees of the base, Guantánamo officials would have to purchase pesos from the National Bank of Cuba for the whole amount of the base payroll for Cuban nationals at the official exchange rate set by the Cuban Government at 1 peso for 1 dollar. Since approximately 1,100 of the 3,150 Cuban nationals employed at the base now reside on the base, only a small portion of the dollar wages presently paid that group returns to the Cuban economy. Thus, fewer dollars are supplied the Castro regime under the present payment procedure than would be the case under the alternative of payment in Cuban currency.

#### AID TO LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES UNDER THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS PROGRAM

As you know, the Alliance for Progress is a 10-year program of mutual cooperation among the American Republics, from which Cuba has been excluded. The contribution of effort and resources which the Latin American Republics are expected to make will outweigh by far the contribution of capital which they will receive from the United States and other sources. A number of the Latin American countries are confronted with serious domestic political problems which stem in part from the inroads made by Castro-Communists and other extremist elements. To contain and overcome such threats to their stability, the governments of these nations require our aid to improve the political, economic, and social climate in their respective countries so that orderly progress may be made within a democratic framework. To withhold our assistance would in many instances further weaken the very nations that, for the above-mentioned reasons find that it is politically unfeasible at this time to undertake steps, such as sanctions, against the Communist Cuban Government.

#### AID TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

The United States extends assistance to two Communist countries, Poland and Yugoslavia. However, this aid is in no way channeled to Cuba or to any third country. The recent press report that one of the Yugoslav freighters carrying jet aircraft purchased in the United States stopped at Havana for 5 days "under a complete blackout" is unfounded. Reliable and verified information available to this Government indicates conclusively that none of the Yugoslav ships carrying these planes touched Cuba. In this connection I am enclosing for convenient reference a copy of Secretary Rusk's statement before the Select Committee on Export Control of the House of Representatives.

The Department sympathizes with the plight of the cigar industry employees at Tampa. At the Department's request, the Department of Labor has provided the following information with respect to the impact of the embargo in that area and the steps that have been taken to date by that Department:

Immediately upon announcement of the ban on Cuban imports the Secretary of Labor dispatched a representative of the U.S. Employment Service to Tampa to investigate the effects on employment of the embargo on Cuban tobacco. The area's labor force amounts to about 290,000 with about 3,800 engaged in the tobacco industry in Tampa. Local estimates indicate the supply of tobacco on hand is adequate for another 6 to 12 months of normal operations. This has been substantiated by Mr. James Corral, president of the Cigar Manufacturers Association.

As you may know, there is a special pro-

since law which provides for a uniform benefit year beginning in May for cigarworkers in Hillsborough County (Tampa). This preserves and makes usable workers' wage credits prior to their layoff for a longer period of time.

Only three plants in the area use 100 percent Habana tobacco. The Secretary of Labor is keeping currently informed on the developments in this area and has taken steps to gather pertinent information to determine the magnitude of the problem and to accelerate the activity of the local public employment office in developing job opportunities for those individuals who may be affected by this action. Public employment officials in the Tampa area are also working with State and local government officials to develop plans to maintain employment stability in the industry and to provide job opportunities for unemployed workers.

Please call on us if we can be of any further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,  
Assistant Secretary.

The Honorable JOHN F. KENNEDY,  
President of the United States,  
The White House, Washington, D.C.:

Regarding \$60 million foodstuffs and medicine exchange as ransom for Cuban prisoners, which by all news reports is to include U.S.-owned, taxpayer-paid-for foodstuffs to make up the difference between volunteered funds and the \$62 million demanded, I strongly protest this or any expenditure of taxpayers' money through U.S.-owned foodstuffs for the ransom of Cuban prisoners as being contrary to the basic statement of policy by Congress calling for and authorizing specific action to rid this hemisphere of Castro and communism. In view of the strong public protest against the tractors-for-prisoners proposal, and in view of the downgrading of our prestige as the leading nation of the free nations of the world by thus admitting our participation in and backing of the Bay of Pigs invasion and our conciliatory attitude toward Castro and having introduced resolutions opposing both the tractors deal and the \$62 million ransom deal, I feel I must express my deep concern and shock over the secret negotiations that are even yet not fully revealed between the United States through a private citizen and Castro. In view of the restrictive language written into the mutual security bill instructing the withholding of aid to countries that do business (trade) with Castro and the House Cuban resolution calling for strong and affirmative action to get rid of Castro and the Communists, I am specifically requesting information as to what possible authority exists for the spending of any portion of the \$60 million by the Government of the United States in payment of ransom to the enemy Communist Fidel Castro and, further, even if such legal authority exists, which is unknown to me, how can the United States be put in the position of strengthening Castro and communism on the one hand by delivering shipments to Cuba of \$60 million worth of American substance, when calling on the other hand for all other countries to stop all other types of shipments to Cuba. How go-faceted can our foreign policy objectives be? How inconsistent can our actions be? How confused the entire free world must be? Historically, the United States has never paid ransom or indemnity and this precedent will come to haunt the United States and the free world in the future. I am asking that this supersecret negotiation be called to a halt before irreparable damage to U.S. prestige is done. It is further inconceivable to me that, and I question the legality of, a private citizen, namely Mr. Donovan, would be allowed to negotiate with an enemy govern-

ment on behalf of the United States—with the Castro government—declared to be an enemy government by the Congress in its resolution and by the President in invoking the Trading With the Enemy Act to prevent the shipment of Havana tobacco of recent date. Such negotiations are considered a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the Logan Act and it has been the general policy of Congress to oppose any trade with the enemy as set forth in the Trading With the Enemy Act. These basic policies for freedom and against communism are all being violated in my opinion in this abortive deal—and I strongly protest making Castro stronger, our anti-Communist efforts a laughing stock throughout the world, and the establishment of a policy of paying taxpayer money to Castro for indemnity and ransom inherent in this supersecret deal, kept secret purposely and negotiated by a private citizen. I specifically ask these questions:

1. What authority exists for anyone to negotiate for payment in U.S. Government-owned foodstuffs to Castro and the Communists?
2. How much in U.S.-owned foodstuffs and other things of value are being made available for this purpose?
3. What right does Donovan or any other private citizen have to negotiate with Castro and an enemy government?
4. If Donovan is negotiating on behalf of private citizens only, what right does he have under the Logan Act to do so—let alone a violation of recent policy statement of the Congress? Doesn't his visit to Cuba require Government approval?
5. If Donovan is negotiating in a manner that obligates the U.S. Government to make up the difference between contributions and the \$60 million demanded, is he doing so as an agent of the U.S. Government?
6. Why hasn't a full disclosure of all the facts been made before the deal is closed between Castro and Donovan?

WILLIAM C. CRAMER,  
Member of Congress.